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S L A V E T R A D E:

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WHEELER'S MANCHESTER CHRONICLE;

AND SINCE RE-PRINTED

WITH ADDITIONS AND ALTERATIONS.

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By T H O M A S C O O P E R, Esq.

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I would not have a Slave to till my ground,  
To carry me, to fan me while I sleep,  
And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth  
That finews bought and fold have ever earn'd.

COWPER.

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MANCHESTER: PRINTED BY C. WHEELER, 1787.

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## P R E F A C E.

THE following pages contain the substance of four Letters on the Slave Trade, which I wrote for the purpose of contributing my mite of Information, upon a subject of importance, to the Inhabitants of Manchester. They appear to have excited some attention; and at the request of some Gentlemen, who very laudably interested themselves in favour of the wretched Africans, they are now reprinted, for the purpose of being dispersed gratis. Every man condemns the Trade in general; but it requires the exhibition of particular instances of the enormity of this Commerce, to induce those to become active in the matter, who wish well to the cause upon the whole. I have not thought it necessary to preserve the epistolary form exactly agreeable to the original stile of publication; because the omission of the proems and conclusions of the letters, have made room for more important matter. I fancy the reader, if his leisure will not enable him to attend to the minutiae of the subject, will find in this Pamphlet facts sufficient to form a decided opinion upon the question. If he have leisure, I hope he will hereby be induced to enter more deeply into the investigation, for I am sure the cause of Humanity will be assisted by every one who pays a sufficient attention to the Commerce here reprobated.

THOMAS COOPER.

*Woodbeys, near Altringham,  
Cheshire, Oct. 1787.*

It is to be hoped that those who receive any Copies of this Pamphlet, will distribute them in conformity to the design of the publication.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE MANCHESTER CHRONICLE.

S I R,

*Quid non mortalia pectora cogis  
Auri sacra fames?*

THE public attention is so frequently excited, by exaggerated representations of evils, which extend not beyond the limits of a family, or the person of the relator; by misfortunes of diurnal occurrence, or the speculations of fictitious distress; and we are so frequently addressed by the self-devoted victims of negligence or misconduct, and by those who spurn at the laws which Humanity has dictated for the relief of the necessitous, that some attention may reasonably be expected, to the narration of miseries which *cannot* be exaggerated; which extend to millions of our fellow-creatures; which are induced by no delinquency of the sufferers; are increased and authorised, not alleviated, by laws, which avarice and oppression have enacted and enforced, against the wretched, but innocent, objects of their legislative authority.

But it is not solely on the score of humanity, that the public may be addressed on the present occasion: if it be our boast as Englishmen, that we (as all men ought to be) are governed by these laws only to which we have an opportunity of assenting; if we claim Freedom as our birth-right, and glory that the “very air of our country is too free for a slave to respire;” we are in honour bound to assist in exterminating the most diabolical exertion of political tyranny, which the annals of oppression can exhibit an instance of.

As honest and religious men, as Christians, followers of that Master whose life was *Benevolence*, whose name is *Love*, how can we do otherwise than discountenance a practice, which involves almost every vice that fills the black catalogue of human iniquity, and wherein fraud, perjury, and cruelty, attend as the handmaids of commercial avarice.

What this practice is, the reader has already conjectured— for to what is this language applicable, but to the infamous traffic of the human Species—the AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

Every

Every man possessed of the common feelings of humanity, and the common principles of morality, even if unacquainted with the particulars of this execrable commerce, mentions it in discourse in terms of disapprobation, and hears it with an ejaculation of abhorrence. But the miseries of five hundred thousand wretches, noticed in general terms, seldom produces a permanent effect among persons, who would shudder at the detail of the complicated misery, which any individual of the ill-fated group has been doomed to undergo.

It is *particular* distress, with its attendant circumstances, which is calculated to excite compassion. A general carnage is seldom mentioned with pain, and is always heard without a tear. Happily for the human species, such is the case: for otherwise, either human nature would presently sink under the agony of perpetual sympathy, or the noblest feelings which Heaven has bestowed on mankind, would be soon extinguished by repeated exertion.

That some very few circumstances, however, attending this inhuman traffic, may be generally known to the Readers of your Paper, I have drawn up (principally in the words of the relators) a very brief account of the history of this commerce; of the writers who have expressly complained of it; of the mode of procuring the slaves; of the labour they are doomed to exert; and of the general treatment they receive from their Christian masters. In this account I shall be careful not to insert any thing which writers of repute have not ventured their credit on, or which is not sufficiently and literally notorious, to every person who has possessed an opportunity of seeing or hearing the facts in question. Exaggeration in the slightest degree is so perfectly needless, that it shall not be attempted. Even those who relate much less than the truth, have great reason to fear their readers will suspect them of telling much more.

It is well known, that in the early ages of the world captives were led into perpetual servitude, whose masters considered themselves entitled to vend them. This practice continued throughout Greece, obtained among the Romans, and was in use among all the Barbarians, who overturned the Roman Empire, and substituted the Feudal System in the place of Roman Jurisprudence. From the excellent and accurate compilations of Wright, Gilbert, Blackstone, and Robertson, the *Villeins* of the Feudal times appear to have been true slaves; whose persons, families, and possessions, were the property of the lord of the soil; but whose treatment, though harsh, was comparatively merciful: the practice, however, of continuing



our fellow-creatures in a state of such extreme subordination, and regarding and treating them so much like the cattle of the field, rather than as beings of the same species with their owners, was so utterly repugnant to the benignant genius of Christianity, even in those dark ages, that the Clergy universally set their faces against it, with so much zeal and so much success, that toward the close of the 12th century, the class of people termed Villeins hardly existed throughout Europe.

About the close of the 15th century, however, the idleness and inhumanity of the Portuguese incited them to commit depredations on the African coast, with the intent of carrying the natives to cultivate their newly discovered American settlements. The Spaniards having nearly exterminated the American Indians in the Continent they possessed, followed the example of the Portuguese—not without the approbation and incitement of Bartholomew de la Casas, who was blind to the rights of human nature in one part of the world, while he was spending his life in maintaining them in another. The commerce then fell into the hands of the Genoese, and by degrees the English, the French, the Dutch, and the Danes shared in the bloody traffic. The English, however, soon became, and still continue pre-eminent in wickedness: the supply of their own colonies before the war requiring the annual increase of nearly 100,000 of these unfortunate victims of indolence and avarice.

This species of barter, however, has not been practised entirely without reprehension. The Africans found an advocate in the last century, in a British Clergyman of the name of *Morgan Godwyn*. But of all others they are the most indebted to that most respectable of religious denominations, the Quakers. *John Woolman* and *Anthony Benezet*, Members of that sect, about the middle of the present century, spent a great part of their lives and fortunes in the attempt to abolish, among the people of their own persuasion, a practice so thoroughly inconsistent with every principle of common honesty, and every precept of every religion. Their endeavours were not totally unsuccessful; for this traffic, which had been noticed with reprehension by the Quakers in 1727, was publicly condemned at their yearly conference in 1754, wherein they declared, “that to live in ease and plenty by the toil of those whom fraud and violence had put into their power, was neither consistent with Christianity, nor common justice.” These sentiments, publicly persisted in from that time to the present by that respectable body, has had no small weight; for, throughout the Continent of North America, there is not

at this day a single slave, in the possession of an acknowledged Quaker. The example of the Quakers induced other sects in America to consider the admissibility of slaves among their respective members. Among the Presbyterians in Pennsylvania, I am sorry to say the question respecting the universal manumission of slaves was negatived, though but by a majority of one.

In the year 1774 the Rev. Mr. J. Wesley, with that active benevolence that has perpetually marked his character, took into consideration this subject, in a pamphlet entitled "Thoughts on Slavery." This tract, written with the author's usual conciseness, and which for importance of fact, for cogency of argument, and for neatness of style has not been exceeded by any writer upon this subject, so well displays the impropriety of the traffic, that little else would be necessary than to reprint and disperse it, if the unblushing denials of notorious facts by some late hirelings of Slavery, did not call for additional instances of British inhumanity.

Several tracts on this subject have also been published by Mr. Grenville Sharp, who, to his immortal honour, at his own expence, procured the perpetual manumission of slaves in England, by means of the decision in the great cause of *Somerset* the negro. And I confess I think a different decision could hardly be given, if a similar cause, after being carried through the inferior courts in the plantations, were regularly removed for a final discussion to this country.

Next to the unremitting representations of the Quakers, however, the public attention has been principally excited by the Rev. Mr. James Ramsay's "Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves," and the controversy to which it gave rise. A controversy wherein the anonymous antagonists of humanity have been so completely foiled, and Mr. Ramsay's facts so thoroughly established, (by the concurrent testimony of Capt. J. Smith in particular) that it will be difficult for them to escape the accusation of gross calumny and wilful misrepresentation. Mr. Ramsay's publication was succeeded by a Translation of a Latin Dissertation "on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species;" for which the author, (the Rev. Mr. Clarkson) was deservedly honoured with the first prize by the University of Cambridge, in the year 1785. This elaborate essay is a full and complete discussion of the subject, and exhibits new facts and additional authorities. I am happy to say that the learned and excellent author is yet employed in collecting and arranging with unremitting industry, materials for farther public information on this important subject. If to  
these

these be added the authors mentioned in the reference,\* the catalogue will be nearly complete, of those who have thus honourably, and, I hope, not uselessly employed their leisure hours.

The publications, however, on this subject, are not so much known as they deserve: they are also too numerous to be properly attended to by those who have not leisure to read much, and who have no inducement to pay for information of which they know not the importance.

It has occurred to me, therefore, that it would conduce to the furtherance of a Cause which deserves all manner of support, if I were to select and make known such facts, properly authenticated, concerning the methods of procuring slaves, the tasks they are bound to perform, and the general treatment to which they are subject, as will shew the extent of the evil complained of, and justify the charges which the Writers above enumerated have brought against the traffic in question.

At the first visits of the Portuguese and other European nations to the Coast of Africa, they seized without scruple such of the natives as they found, and carried them into servitude to their American Colonies: But this practice could not last long: the Africans deserted the sea coast; they were followed up the rivers and creeks; the banks of these became deserted in their turn, and the trade was on the decline. The only alternative was to make settlements on the coast, and obtain by purchase, what they could not procure by force. This was done; and in the year 1481 the first European Fort was erected by the Portuguese at *D'Elmina*. When by change of conduct in the Europeans,

\* The present excellent Bishop of Chester, in a Sermon preached before the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, recommends to their consideration, the present State of the enslaved Africans. Much to his Lordship's honour, he is the first clergyman of the Establishment, who has professionally taken up the cause. So fair an example, it is to be hoped, will be universally followed.

The subject has also been expressly treated by T. Day, Esq. in a Pamphlet entitled "*Fragments on Negro Slavery*."

The author of a *Serious Address to the Rulers of America, on Slavery*.

The case of the oppressed Africans, by the Quakers.

Capt. Smith's Letter, to the Rev. Mr. Hill, on the State of the Negro Slaves.

Thoughts on the Slavery of the Negroes. 2nd. Edit.

The dying Negro, a Poem.

West-Indian Eclogues.

The Wrongs of Africa, a Poem. This last is of considerable merit: nor are the others ill written.

These, with the publications of the writers mentioned in the letter, amount in number to 18 or 20.



peans, an intercourse was established between them and the Africans; the former agreed for the purchase, 1. of convicts sentenced to death; 2. of prisoners of war: but the demand was so great on the one side, and the traffic so lucrative on the other, that altho' throughout the whole of the Slave coast where the wants of the Europeans were known, every crime, every misdemeanour, nay every suspicion of a crime was made capital to increase the supply, the demand was still insatiate; and the traders recurred to the purchase, 3dly. of natives seized in profound peace by the absolute authority of the Prince; and 4thly. of natives kidnapped by those who now began to make a trade of it. Such are the sources from whence the demand has now, for nearly three centuries, been supplied.

That such is the case, is notorious: but a better idea of this commerce will be formed from the subsequent accounts which I have selected from the Authors quoted.

About the year 1551 the English first began to trade to the Coast of Guinea. In 1566 Sir John Hawkins sailed with two ships to Cape Verd, where he set 80 men on shore *to catch negroes*. But the natives flying, he fell farther down, and there set the men on shore, *to burn their towns, and take their inhabitants*. But they met with such resistance, that they had seven men killed, and took but ten negroes: So they went still farther down, till having taken enough, they proceeded to the West Indies, and sold them.\*

“When the King of Barlalli (says Mr. Moore, who was factor to the African Company in 1730) wants goods or brandy, he sends to the English Governor at James Fort, who immediately sends a sloop. Against the time it arrives, he plunders some of his neighbours' towns, selling the people for the goods he wants. At other times he falls upon one of his own towns, making bold to sell his own subjects.”

The French get their slaves much in the same way. “I wrote (says *Monf. Brue*) to the King, if he had a sufficient number of slaves, I would treat with him. He seized 300 of his own people, and sent word he was ready to deliver them for the goods.” *Monf. Barbot*, another French factor, says, “Many of the slaves sold by the negroes are prisoners of war, or taken in the incursions they make into the enemy's territories; others are stolen. Abundance of little blacks of both sexes are stolen away by their neighbours, when found abroad on the road, or  
in

\* This was the commencement of the *English* Slave Trade, and in direct contradiction to the express orders of Queen Elizabeth, as appears from Hill's naval history, page 296.



in the woods, or else in the corn fields, at the time of year when their parents keep them there all day, to scare away the devouring birds."

To set the manner wherein negroes are procured in a yet stronger light, it will suffice to give an extract of two voyages to Guinea on that account. The first is taken verbatim from the original manuscript of the Surgeon's journal.—"Sestro, Dec. 29, 1724. No trade to day, tho' many traders came on board. They informed us that the people are gone to war within land, and will bring prisoners enough in two or three days, in hopes of which we stay.

"The 30th. No trade yet: but our traders came on board to day, and informed us the people had burnt four towns; so that to-morrow we expect slaves off.

"The 31st. Fair weather, but no trading yet. We see each night towns burning, but we hear many of the *Sestro* men are killed by the inland negroes; so that we fear this war will be unsuccessful.

"The 2d. Jan. Last night we saw a prodigious fire break out about 11 o'clock—and this morning see the town of *Sestro* burnt down to the ground. (It contained about 100 houses.) So that we find their enemies are too hard for them at present, and consequently our trade spoiled here. Therefore about seven o'clock we weighed anchor, to proceed lower down."

The second extract taken from the journal of a Surgeon, who went from New-York on the same trade, is as follows. "The commander of the vessel sent to acquaint the King that he wanted a cargo of slaves. The King promised to furnish him, and in order to it, set out, designing to surprize some town, and make all the people prisoners. Some time after, the King sent him word he had not met with the desired success, having attempted to break up two towns, and having been twice repulsed; but that he still hoped to procure the number of slaves. In this design he persisted till he met his enemies in the field. A battle was fought which lasted three days, and the engagement was so bloody, that 4500 men were slain upon the spot." Such is the manner wherein the negroes are procured; and thus *Christians* preach the Gospel to the *Heathens!* exclaims the Rev. Mr. Wesley, from whose "Thoughts on Slavery," the preceding extracts are made.—The facts are from Benezet.

The foregoing transcripts justify the observations of Mr. *Clarkson*, from whose "Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species," p. 97, et seq. I have taken the following very melancholy account.

Whoever

Whoever reflects on the prodigious slaughter that is constantly made in every African skirmish, will find that where 10 are taken, he has every reason to presume that 100 perish. In some of these skirmishes, though they have been begun for the express purpose of *procuring slaves*, the conquerors have suffered but few of the vanquished to escape the fury of the sword: and there have not been wanting instances, where they have been so incensed at the resistance they have found, that their spirit of vengeance has entirely got the better of their avarice, and they have murdered in cool blood every individual, without discrimination either of age or sex. The following is an account of one of these skirmishes, as described by a person who was witness to the scene; who was known to Mr. Clarkson himself, and who having been shipwrecked on the African coast, resided a considerable time among the natives. The subsequent account is a transcript from his letter.——“I was sent with several others in a small sloop up the river Niger, to purchase slaves. We had some free negroes with us in the practice: and as the vessels are liable to frequent attacks, from the Negroes on one side of the river, or the Moors on the other, they are all armed. As we rode at anchor a long way up the river, we observed a large number of negroes in huts by the river side, and for our own safety kept a wary eye on them. Early next morning we saw from our mast-head, a numerous body approaching, with apparently but little order, but in close array. They approached very fast, and fell furiously on the inhabitants of the town, who seemed to be quite surprized, but nevertheless, as soon as they could get together, fought stoutly. They had some fire-arms, but made very little use of them, as they came directly to close fighting with their spears, lances and sabres. Many of the invaders were mounted on small horses, and both parties fought for about half an hour with the fiercest animosity, exerting much more courage and perseverance than I had ever before been witness to amongst them. The women and children of the town clustered together to the water's edge, running shrieking up and down with terror, waiting the event of the combat, till their party gave way, and took to the water, to endeavour to swim over to the Barbary side. They were closely pursued even into the river by the victors, who, though they came for the purpose of *getting slaves*, gave no quarter, their cruelty even prevailing over their avarice. They made no prisoners, but put all to the sword without mercy. Horrible indeed was the carnage of the vanquished on this occasion, and as we were within 200 or 300 yards of them, their cries and shrieks affected us extremely. We had got up our anchor

at the beginning of the fray, and now flood close in to the spot, where the victors having followed the vanquished into the water, were continually dragging out and murdering those whom, by reason of their wounds, they easily overtook. The very children, whom they took in great numbers, did not escape the massacre. Enraged at their barbarity, we fired our guns, loaded with grape shot, and a volley of small arms among them, which effectually checked their ardour, and obliged them to retire to a distance from the shore; from whence a few round cannon shot soon removed them into the woods. The whole river was black over with the heads of the fugitives, who were swimming for their lives. These poor wretches, fearing us as much as their conquerors, dived when we fired, and cried most lamentably for mercy. Having now effectually favoured their retreat, we stood backwards and forwards, and took up several that were wounded and tired. All whose wounds had disabled them from swimming, were either butchered or drowned before we got up to them. *With a justice and generosity never, I believe, before heard of among slavers*, we gave those their liberty whom we had taken up, setting them on shore on the Barbary side, among the poor residue of their companions, who had survived the slaughter of the morning.

On these undeniable facts concerning the mode of *procuring* slaves at the first outset of the traffic, let the reader make his own comments. They may be short; for he will have many to make, ere the curtain is dropped over the melancholy picture of Negro servitude.

As the Slave-coast, for reasons before mentioned, is not over-burthened with native inhabitants; the slaves thus righteously procured, are brought from the Inland Country, frequently for the distance of 1000 or 1200 miles. The method of conveying them down to the coast, or to the ships, as described by the Abbé Raynal (Hist. East and West Ind. iv. 12. Edinb. Ed.) is as follows. "Slave merchants are united by mutual confederacy, and forming a species of caravans, in 200 or 300 leagues they conduct several files of 30 or 40 slaves, all laden with water and corn, which are necessary to their subsistence in those thirsty deserts through which they are to pass. The method of securing them, without much incommoding their march, is ingeniously devised. A fork of wood, from eight to nine feet long, is put round the neck of each slave. A pin of iron, rivetted, secures the fork in such a manner, that the head cannot disengage itself. The handle of the fork, the wood of which is very heavy, falls before, and so embarrasses the person who is tied to it, that though he has



has his arms and legs free, he can neither walk, nor lift up the fork. When they get ready for their march, they range the slaves on the same line, and support and tie the extremity of each fork on the shoulder of the foremost slave, and proceed in this manner from one to another up to the first, the extremity of whose fork is carried by one of the guides. When these traders want sleep, they tie the arms of every slave to the tail of the fork which he carries. In this condition he can neither run away, nor make any attempt to regain his liberty. Thus far the Abbè Raynal's account.

The slaves thus brought down to the ships are examined, male and female, stark naked, by the surgeons of the vessels. Those who are picked out for sale, are immediately branded on the breast (with a red hot iron which lies ready in a fire for the purpose) with the arms and names of the Company, or Owners, who are the purchasers. This humane piece of caution being performed, the slaves are thrust by hundreds, males and females, promiscuously, into as small a place in the ship as the ingenuity of the owners can contrive to stow them in:

#### Immured

Within the scanty breadth of calculated inches.

To say nothing of the indecency of this practice, or of the unrestrained commerce of the sailors with the female slaves during the voyage, circumstances which are like the small dust in the balance of iniquity, the misery of a situation so extremely confined, the pestilential vapours they inhale, the badness of the provisions on which they are fed, the small quantity allowed them, and the tortures of a sultry climate, are frequently so great, that many slaves have been known to starve themselves to death on the voyage; others, when brought upon deck for fresh air, have sprung over-board, to meet death in the waves; or have otherwise put an end to an existence so miserable, as to make a deliverance from it the greatest blessing they are capable of receiving. "Others, in a fit of despair, have attempted to rise, and regain their liberty. But here what a scene of barbarity has constantly ensued. Some of them have been instantly killed on the spot: some have been taken from the hold, have been bruised and mutilated in the most barbarous and shocking manner, and have been returned bleeding to their companions, as a sad example of resistance: while others, tied to the ropes of the ship, and mangled alternately with the whip and the knife, have been left in that horrid situation till they have expired." Clarkson. 130

A confirmation of this account of Mr. Clarkson's, is a case mentioned in *Astley's* collection of Voyages by *John Atkins*, Surgeon, on board *Admiral Ogle's* Squadron, "of one *Harding*, mas-

ter of a vessel, in which several of the men slaves, and a woman slave had attempted to rise, in order to recover their liberty: some of whom the master, of his own authority, sentenced to cruel death; making them first eat the heart and liver of one of those he killed. The woman he hoisted by the thumbs, whipt and flashed with knives before the other slaves till she died."

Benezet, who quotes this fact from Astley's Voyages, adduces it as a parallel to another Instance which he gives of the same kind, from the account of a master of a Slave vessel on his arrival at Barbadoes.

He relates it from a person of undoubted credit who heard it from the captain's own mouth. Upon an enquiry what had been the success of his voyage, he answered, That he found it a difficult matter to set the Negroes a fighting with each other, in order to procure the number he wanted: but that when he had obtained this end, and had got his vessel filled with slaves, a new difficulty arose from their refusal to take food: those desperate creatures choosing to die with hunger, rather than be carried from their native country. Upon a farther enquiry by what means he had prevailed upon them, to forego this desperate resolution, he answered, "That he obliged all the negroes to come upon deck, where they persisted in their resolution of not taking food; he caused his sailors to lay hold upon one of the most obstinate, and chopt the poor creature into small pieces, forcing some of the others to eat a part of the mangled body; withal swearing to the survivors that he would use them all one after another in the same manner if they did not consent to eat." "This horrid execution he applauded as a good act, it having had the desired effect in bringing them to take food. Benezet's Caution, &c. Page 26.

Should any tempestuous weather arise during the voyage, or should provisions run short in any degree, the requisite number of slaves are thrown overboard without any scruple, to lighten the cargo, or lessen the number of mouths. Nay, within these few years, no less than 132 slaves were thrown over-board within two or three days from one ship, not because the weather required it, or provisions were scanty, but because the captain had a desire to defraud the underwriters, in favour of the ship owners. The circumstance, tho' not very singular perhaps, is so much out of the way of any transaction which does not happen with a Slave-trader, that the narrative is worth transcribing.

In March 1783, the following Circumstances came out in evidence on a Case of Insurance, tried in the Court of King's Bench, Westminster. On the 6th of September, 1781, the ship  
Zong

Zong or Zurg, Luke Collingwood, master, sailed from the Island of St. Thomas for Jamaica, with about 440 negroes, and 17 white persons on board. On the 27th of November following she fell in with the place of her destination; but the master, either thro' ignorance or design, ran the ship to *leeward*, alledging that he mistook it for Hispaniola. About this time (as is usual in slave ships) a violent sickness and mortality raged on board; so that from the time of her leaving Africa, to the 29th of November, not less than 60 slaves and 7 white persons died, and a great number of the remaining slaves were sick of the same distemper. The quantity of mouths, therefore, instead of being encreased, and thereby causing a scarcity, were considerably lessened.

Collingwood, however, now discovered or pretended to discover, that their stock of fresh water was reduced to 200 gallons: therefore there was no *present* want of water: they were not yet put to short allowance: there was great probability moreover that it would rain in a few days, as indeed it did, and at all events they might have made an enemy's port in 24 hours. The plea of necessity, therefore, could not be the true reason of the subsequent murder. Collingwood calling together a few of the officers, told them, "That if the slaves died a natural death it would be to the loss of the owners, but if they were thrown alive into the sea, the loss would be the underwriters." To this proposal the chief mate (who was an evidence in the cause) at first objected, observing that there was no present want of water, and therefore no excuse for such a measure. He and the rest of the crew were, however, soon persuaded, and the same evening the master selected 132 slaves, all of whom were sick and weak, and ordered them to be thrown into the sea. On the 29th of November, 54 innocent and unhappy persons were thrown over-board alive, and on the following day 42 more, making 96 out of the 132. On the first of December, and for a day or two following, there fell a plentiful *rain*, which enabled them to collect *six casks of water*, and took away the sole argument for putting to death the negroes, viz. the plea of wanting water. The fate of the unfortunate victims was, however, pre-determined, *and even after the rain 26 negroes were thrown over-board* with their hands fettered or bound, and in the sight of several others who were brought upon the deck for the same purpose, ten of whom, to avoid the unnecessary cruelty of having their hands confined, jumped over-board and were also drowned. The ship, after all, brought into port 480 gallons of water. The *humane* owners affected to censure the *imprudence* of the murderer. The underwriters hesitating to make good the insurance, this action ensued.



sued.—The above account is extracted chiefly in the words of Dr. Gregory \* (Essays, 307) with an additional circumstance or two from Mr. Ramsay.

This Anecdote (shocking as it is, says Dr. Gregory) is not without a parallel, for not many years ago a vessel from Africa, freighted with negro slaves, was run on shore in the Island of Jamaica. The master and crew saved themselves in the boat, and thro' I know not what unnecessary fears for their own safety, knocked the negroes on the head as they swam on sho re. (ibid.)

From the loading of the vessels at the African coast, to the completion of the voyage, there is an average diminution of the original number of slaves, one fifth. The routine of occurrences to which the remaining four-fifths are subject, I shall relate in the words of Mr. Clarkson, who having attended very particularly to the subject, and having had frequent opportunities of information, from gentlemen long resident in the British plantations, is more competent to state the facts, and better able to supply the language suitable to the occasion, than I can pretend to be.

When the ship arrives at its destined port, they are again exposed to sale. Here they are again subjected to the inspection of other brutal *receivers*, who examine and treat them with an inhumanity at which even Avarice would blush. To this mortifying circumstance is added another—that they are picked out as the purchaser pleases, without any consideration whether the wife is separated from her husband, or the mother from her son : and if these cruel instances of separation should happen ; if relations, when they find themselves about to be parted, should cling together ; or if filial, conjugal, or parental affection should detain them but a moment longer in each others arms than these *second receivers* should think fit, the lash instantly severs them from their embraces.

When the wretched Africans are conveyed to the plantations, they are considered as *beasts of labour*, and are put to their respective work. Having led in their own country a life of indolence and ease, where the earth brings forth spontaneously the comforts of life, and spares frequently the toil and trouble of cultivation, they can hardly be expected to endure the drudgeries of servitude. Calculations are accordingly made upon their lives. It is conjectured that if three in four survive what is called the *seasoning*, the bargain is highly favourable. This seasoning is said to expire when the two first years of their servitude is completed. It is the time which an African must take to be

\* I forgot to enumerate among the Writers against the Slave-trade, Dr. Gregory's excellent Essay on this Subject : but it deserved not to be omitted.

be so accustomed to the colony, as to be able to endure the common labour of a plantation, and to be put in the *gang*. At this period they are considered as real and substantial supplies. From this period therefore we shall describe their situation. They are summoned at five in the morning to begin their work. The work may be divided into two kinds, the culture of the fields, and the collection of grass for the cattle. The last is the most laborious and intolerable employment; as the grass can only be collected blade by blade, and is to be fetched frequently twice a day, at a considerable distance from the plantation. In these two occupations they are jointly taken up, with no other intermission than that of taking their subsistence twice, till nine at night. They then separate for their respective huts, when they gather sticks, prepare their supper, and attend their families. This employs them till midnight, when they go to rest. Such is their daily way of life for rather more than half the year. They are 16 hours, including two intervals at meals, in the service of their masters—they are employed three hours afterwards in their own necessary concerns—five only remain for sleep, and the day is finished.

During the remaining portion of the year, or the time of crop, the nature, as well as the time of their employment, is considerably changed. The whole gang is generally divided into two or three bodies. One of these, *besides the ordinary labour of the day*, is kept in turn at the mills, which are constantly going during the whole of the night. This is a dreadful encroachment upon their time of rest, which was before too short to permit them perfectly to refresh their wearied limbs, and actually reduces their sleep, as long as this season lasts, to about three hours and a half each night, upon a moderate computation.—Those who can keep their eyes open during their nightly labour, and are willing to resist the drowsiness that is continually coming upon them, are presently worn out; while some of those who are overcome, and who feed the mill between asleep and awake, suffer for thus obeying the calls of nature, by the loss of a limb; a hand or arm being frequently ground off. In this manner they go on, with little or no respite from their work, till the crop season is over, when the year (from the time of our first description) is completed.

To support a life of such unparalleled drudgery, we should at least expect to find that they were comfortably clothed, and plentifully fed. But, sad reverse! they have scarcely a covering against the inclemency of the night. Their provisions are frequently bad, and are always dealt out to them with such a sparing

sparing hand, that the means of a bare livelihood are not placed within the reach of four out of five of those unhappy people.

It is a fact that many of the disorders of slaves are contracted from eating the vegetables which their little spots produce, before they are ripe: a clear indication that the calls of hunger are so pressing, as not to suffer them to wait till they can really enjoy them. Neither will this statement be deemed in the slightest degree a deviation from the literal truth in favour of the slaves, when the reader is informed of what is an undeniable fact, namely, that a slave's *annual* allowance from his master, for provisions, cloathing, medicines when sick, &c. is limited upon an average to THIRTY SHILLINGS!

This situation of the want of the common necessities of life, added to that of hard and continual labour, must be sufficiently painful of itself. How then must the pain be sharpened, if it be accompanied with severity? If an unfortunate slave does not come into the field exactly at the appointed time; if, drooping with sickness or fatigue, he appears to work unwillingly; or if the bundle of grass he has been collecting appears too small in the eye of the Overseer, he is equally sure of experiencing the whip.—This instrument erases the skin, and cuts out small portions of the flesh at almost every stroke; and is so frequently applied, that the smack of it is all day long in the ears of those who are in the vicinity of the plantations. This severity of masters or managers to their slaves, which is considered only as common discipline, is attended with bad effects. It enables them to behold instances of cruelty without commiseration, and to be guilty of them without remorse. Hence those many acts of deliberate mutilation, that have taken place on the slightest occasions: hence those many instances of inferior, but shocking barbarity, which have taken place without any occasion at all. The very *slitting of ears* has been considered as an operation so perfectly devoid of pain, as to have been performed for no other reason than that for which a brand is set upon cattle, as a *mark of property*.

But this is not the only effect which this severity produces, for while it hardens their hearts, and makes them insensible of the misery of their fellow-creatures, it begets a turn for wanton cruelty. As a proof of this, we shall only mention one among the many instances that occur, where ingenuity has been exerted in inventing instruments of torture. “An iron coffin, with holes in it, was kept by a certain colonist, as an auxiliary to the lash. In this the poor victim of the master's resentment was inclosed, and placed sufficiently near a fire to occasion extreme pain, and consequently shrieks and groans, until the re-  
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venge of the master was satiated, without any other inconvenience on his part, than a temporary suspension of the slave's labour. Had he been flogged to death, or his limbs mutilated, the interest of the brutal tyrant would have suffered a more irreparable loss." (Clarkson's Essay, 138 et seq.)

"Gentlemen who have resided in the Island of Jamaica during three or four years of the last war, and who out of curiosity have frequented the markets where those unhappy people weekly resort, have remarked that they have not been able to turn their eyes on any group of them whatever, but they have beheld the inhuman marks of passion, despotism and caprice, in the flitting of ears, eyes beaten out, and limbs broken." Clarkson. 151.

The account given in the very accurate tract of Mr. Wesley, of the mode of treatment of the negroes on their landing at the plantations; of the labour they are enjoined; of the manner wherein they are fed, and the punishment they receive, perfectly tallies with the preceding description of Mr. Clarkson. But as some facts are mentioned by the former, not noticed by the latter, I shall make an extract from Mr. Wesley's publication. Having mentioned their general treatment, he proceeds, p. 26. 8. "As to the punishments inflicted on them," says Sir Hans Sloane, "they frequently geld them, or chop off half a foot. After they are whipt till they are raw all over, some put pepper and salt upon them; some drop melted wax upon their skin; others cut off their ears, and constrain them to broil and eat them. For rebellion (that is asserting their native liberty, which they have as much a right to as the air they breathe) they fasten them down to the ground with crooked sticks on every limb, and then applying fire by degrees to the feet and hands, they burn them gradually upwards to the head."

9. But will not the laws, made in the plantations, prevent and redress all cruelty and oppression? We will take but a few of these Laws, as a specimen, and then let every man judge.

In order to rivet the chain of Slavery, the law of Virginia ordains, "That no Slave shall be set free upon any pretence whatever, except for some meritorious services, to be adjudged and allowed by the Governor and Council. And that where any slave shall be set free by his owner, otherwise than is herein directed, the Church-Wardens, of the Parish wherein such negro shall reside for the space of one month, are hereby authorised and required *to take up and sell the said negro by public outcry.*"

Will not these law-givers take effectual care to prevent cruelty and oppression?

The law of Jamaica ordains, "Every slave that shall run  
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away, and be absent from his master 12 months, shall be deemed rebellious. And by another law, 50*l.* are allowed to those who shall kill or bring in alive a *rebellious* slave. So their law treats these poor men, with as little ceremony and consideration as if they were merely brute beasts! But the innocent blood which is shed in consequence of such a detestable law, must call for vengeance on the murderous abettors and actors of such deliberate wickedness.

But the law of *Barbadoes* exceeds even this. “If any negro under punishment by his master, or his order, for running away, or any other crime or misdemeanor, *shall suffer in life or member, no person whatever shall be liable to any fine therefore.* But if any man of *wantonness, or bloody-mindedness, or cruel intention*, wilfully kill a negro of his own (now observe the severe punishment!) he shall pay into the public treasury 15*l.* sterling! and not be liable to any other punishment, or forfeiture for the same!” Act the 39th.

Nearly allied to this is the law of Virginia. “After proclamation is issued against slaves that run away, it is lawful for any person, whatever, to kill and destroy such slaves, *by such ways and means as he shall think fit.*”

We have seen already some of the ways and means, which have been *thought fit* on such occasions; and many more might be mentioned. One gentleman, *when I was abroad, thought fit to roast his slave alive!* But if the most natural act of running away from intolerable tyranny, deserves such relentless severity, what punishment have these *law-makers* to expect hereafter, on account of their own enormous offences!

This is the plain unaggravated matter of fact. Such is the manner wherein our African slaves are procured: such the manner wherein they are removed from their native land, and wherein they are treated in our plantations. Thus far the Rev. Mr. Westley: chiefly from Benezet.

That negroes, in our plantations, are thus treated, some have affected to disbelieve or deny. It will be proper, therefore, to corroborate these accounts, by passages from other writers of credit on this part of the History of Negro Servitude.

The following extract of a letter from a gentleman in Maryland to his friend in London, I give on the authority of Mr. Grenville Sharp.

“The punishments of the poor negroes and convicts, are beyond all conception: being entirely subject to the will of their savage and brutal masters, they are often punished for not doing more than strength and nature will admit of, and sometimes because they can’t, on every occasion, fall in with their wanton  
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and capricious humours. One common punishment is to flea their backs with cow-hides, or other instruments of barbarity, and then pour on hot rum, superinduced with brine or pickle, rubbed in with a corn husk in the scorching heat of the sun." (From the 2d. Appendix to Sharp's Limitation of Slavery.)

Sir Hans Sloan, in his history of Jamaica, speaks "of the horrid executions frequently made there upon discovery of the Plots laid by the Blacks for the recovery of their Liberty: of some they break the bones whilst alive, upon a wheel; others they burn or rather roast to death; others they starve to death with a loaf hanging before their mouths." The Rev. Mr. Ramsay, who speaks from twenty years experience and fourteen years particular attention to the subject, after giving an account of the Labour of the negroes in the Sugar plantations, in no respect materially different from the preceding Extract from Mr. Clarkson's Essay, proceeds. (Essay p. 74.) "The work here mentioned is considered as the field duty of Slaves, that may be insisted on without reproach to the manager of unusual severity, and which the white and black Overseers stand over them to see executed; the transgression against which is quickly followed by the smart of the cart whip. This instrument, in the hands of a skilful driver, cuts out flakes of skin and flesh with every Stroke, and the wretch in this mangled condition is turned out to work in dry or wet weather, which last now and then brings on the cramp, and ends his slavery and his sufferings together."

"The ordinary punishment for slaves (page 85) for the common crimes of neglect, absence from work, eating the sugar cane, theft, are cart whipping, beating with a stick, sometimes to the breaking of bones, the chain, an iron crook about the neck, a large iron pudding, or ring about the ancle, and confinement in the dungeon. There have been instances of flitting of ears, breaking of limbs so as to make amputation necessary, beating out of eyes, and castration; but they seldom happen, especially of late years, and *tho' they bring no lasting disgrace on the perpetrator*, have for some time past been generally mentioned with Indignation. It is yet true, that the unfeeling application of the ordinary punishment, ruins the constitution, and shortens the life of many a poor wretch!

In a certain Colony, no less than two *Chief Judges* within these thirty Years have been celebrated for cutting off or mashing (so as to make amputation necessary) the limbs of their slaves. In one case a Surgeon was called in to operate—he answered, he was not obliged to be the instrument of another man's cruelty. His honour had it then performed by a Cooper's Adze, and the wretch was left to bleed to death without attention or dressing.



When he became convulsed in the agonies of death the surgeon was again hastily sent for, and came in time to pronounce him dead. People stared at the recital, but made no enquiry for blood. In the other case the limb was mashed with a sledge hammer, and then it was amputated by a Surgeon, and the maimed wretch lived some Years." (ibid. note p. 86.)

This account of Mr. Ramsay's, being discredited by the anonymous defenders of Slavery, Capt. James Smith, to whom a Clergyman had lent Mr. Ramsay's Essay, voluntarily offered his corroborating Testimony. From his Letter I have made the following extract.

"The ill treatment of slaves is too well known and too universal to be denied. I do affirm I have seen the most cruel treatment made use of at several of the West India Islands, particularly at Antigua. While serving on that station ten years ago, I visited several of the Plantations there. In consequence of meeting with an old School-fellow, who managed an estate on that island, I was introduced to many of that description; and too often has my heart ached to see the cruel punishments for trifling causes inflicted by the Manager, with such unconcern as not to break in upon his jocularly. When I have interfered, I have been asked, "Do you not punish on board Ships"? My answer was, "Yes, no doubt; but not in this cruel way." A poor negro is laid stretched flat on his face on the ground, at his peril to move an inch till the punishment is over; that is inflicted with a whip, whose thong at the thickest part was the size of a man's thumb, and tapering longer than a coachman's whip. At every stroke a piece was taken out by the particular jerk of the whip, which the Manager (sometimes his wife) takes care to direct. This I have often seen, for not getting a sufficient quantity of grass for the Manager, (for I well know more goes to his share than his master's) and many such trifling things." (Capt. James Smith's letter to the Rev. Mr. Hill, p. 12. 13.)

"The hours of labour (says Dr. Gregory, Essays 308) are 16, and at the very least 14 out of the 24; and the exertions required are frequently more than their natural strength and constitution will bear. A person of veracity assured me, that he has seen in one of our West India Islands, a slender female with a child at her back, compelled to carry up a high ladder 17-Bristol bricks, during the whole of a summer's day. When her strength was exhausted she sat down, and in the bitterness of her soul burst into a flood of tears; but so little of humanity existed in the breast of her task-master, that he immediately roused her to a renewal of her labour, by a severe flagellation."

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“ The common instrument to keep them to their work is a *whip* like the *Russian knout*, which flays off the skin wherever it is applied; the most merciful is a *goad*, like that which is used to oxen, but somewhat longer; and let it be remembered, that the use of these instruments is frequently at the *discretion* of a *transport*; or some of the most drunken and abandoned domestics of a Planter!” (ibid 309 )

“ If, under these complicated injuries, an effort is made to recover the natural rights of man; on discovery, the sentence is of a piece with the cruelty which occasioned the crime. The trials are very summary; the evidence required very slight; the Judges too often ignorant; the jury (*the Masters*) prejudiced; so that I doubt not but innocence too often suffers. *Gibbetting alive* is always the punishment for this, as well as for all other capital offences. I knew a gentleman who had seen in Antigua some of these wretches exist on the gibbet to the ninth day, with a loaf of bread hung at the end of the gibbet, to enhance the torture.”

“ But it is not for real crimes only, that the unhappy subjects of these pages are doomed to suffer. I believe the following is a fact, which is generally allowed. As the government always pays the full price for any negro, who suffers death upon conviction of felony; when an unprincipled planter has an *old negro*, who is past his labour, and consequently (as they term it) a dead weight upon the plantation, the planter takes care to starve him, till the negro is reduced by hunger to a state of desperation; some provision is then laid in his way, in order to tempt him to steal; which, if he does, he is dragged to justice, he is executed, and the deliberate murderer pockets the wages of blood and cruelty.” (ibid 310.)

“ These facts, says Dr. Gregory, which I have adduced, I have taken on the best authority. I have found them corroborated by many impartial testimonies; and from the reason of things, and the nature of slavery, there is great reason to believe, that this state of the case is not exaggerated.” (ibid 313.)

That there will be some difference in the treatment of slaves, according to the different tempers and degrees of knowledge of the British Planters or Managers, there is no doubt; but if the reader wishes for *farther* authorities to prove, that the *general* state of the negroes in the British plantations, is such as I have here represented it, I refer him to the corroborative testimony of the Abbè Raynal, *Hist. philosophique*, &c. v. 4 p. 5 to 7.

Dean Tucker's Reflections on the Disputes between Great Britain

Britain and Ireland, p. 8 17. Account of the European Settlements in America (attributed to Burke) v. 2. p. 120—127.

To this account, other circumstances of cruelty and extreme indecency might easily be added, such as I myself have heard from the relation of eye witnesses, whose character will not permit that I should suspect them of falshood; but I spare the Reader from these shocking scenes; and I tempt him not to the perusal of transactions which are related with hesitancy, and heard with a blush, by every man who is not in some measure concerned in their commission.

How much has it been the fashion for Englishmen to vaunt of their own love of freedom, and to exclaim against the cruelties of the Spaniards in South America! The facts just stated, however, will shew how little we value the cause of freedom, where our own emancipation is not concerned. And with how little knowledge, and how much injustice we exclaim against *Spanish* cruelty, the following account of the Spanish regulations, respecting their slaves, will fully evince.

As soon as a Slave is landed, his name, price, &c. are registered in a public register, and the Master is obliged, by law, to allow him one working day in every week to himself, besides Sunday. So that if the slave chooses to work for his master on that day, he receives the wages of a freeman for it; and whatever he gains by his labour on that day, is so secured to him by law, that his master cannot deprive him of it. As soon as the slave is able to purchase another working day, the master is obliged to sell it him, at a proportionable price; viz. one fifth part of his original cost; and so likewise the remaining four days at the same rate, as soon as the slave is able to redeem them, after which he is absolutely free. This is such an encouragement to industry, that even the most indolent are tempted to exert themselves. Men, who have thus worked out their freedom, are enured to the labour of the country, and are certainly the most useful subjects, that a colony can acquire. (Sharp's Limit of Slavery, 55.)

In the same spirit are framed the French regulations of the *Code Noir*; while, to the utter disgrace of Englishmen, they not only procure slaves for themselves and others, but they leave them exposed to the wanton barbarity of every low bred despot.

The average import of slaves into the European colonies may be 100,000. But these are only two-thirds of the import previous to the seasoning; for one third dies in the seasoning; therefore the actual import into the European colonies, is, at this rate, 150,000. But this latter number is only four-fifths of



of the cargo when first laden ; for one fifth at least dies in the passage ; therefore the cargo, when first laden, was 180,000 men. Moreover it has been observed before, and proof has been offered fully sufficient to establish the fact, that for *one* man actually sent down to the coast, at the very least *ten* were slaughtered. Hence *one million eight hundred thousand* people are annually murdered at the instigation of Europeans, to furnish them with an annual supply of 100,000 poor wretches to do that work, which, after all, they might, consistently with their health, perform themselves !

That 100,000 is the average annual consumption, is generally allowed ; and this computation is confirmed by the following statement of the Abbé Raynal. (Hist. Ind. Book 11) In 1768 there were exported out of Africa 104000 slaves. The English have exported 53,100 for their islands ; their Colonists on the North continent carried away 6300 ; the French 23,500 ; the Dutch 11,300 ; the Portuguese 8,700 ; and the Danes 1200. This account also tallies with the conclusions deducible from the following fact, since published by authority. In 96 years, ending in 1774, 800,000 slaves had been imported into the French part of St. Domingo, of which there remained only 290,000 in 1774. Of this last number only 140,000 were Creoles, or natives of the island ; i. e. of 650,000 slaves, the whole posterity was 140,000. (Considerations sur la Colonie de Dominique.)—Compare this with the fact of the duplication of inhabitants throughout the American continent in 25 years, and allow for emigrants into the bargain !—Let it also be considered, that the French slaves are incomparably better treated than the English, in consequence of the humane regulations of the Code Noir.

The Abbé Raynal computes, that at the time of his writing, nine millions of slaves had been consumed by the Europeans. Add one million at least since, for it is about 10 years ago. Recollecting then, that for one slave procured, ten at least are slaughtered ; that a fifth die in the passage, and a third in the seasoning ; and the unexaggerated computation will turn out, that the infernal voracity of European avarice has been glutted with the MURDER of ONE HUNDRED and EIGHTY MILLIONS of our FELLOW-CREATURES ! Good God, cries the astonished Reader, for what purpose ?——*That the Gentlesfolk of Europe, (my friend) may drink Sugar to their Tea ! !*

Such is the extent of the Charity which now solicits the Assistance of the Benevolent. That if the wisdom and humanity of the Legislature cannot interfere so far as to exterminate a traffic so replete with iniquity, some bounds at least may be set to the wantonness of cruelty, and the tyranny of avarice. That  
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if the demands of commerce require that Negroes shall be enslaved because they are black, and doomed to perpetual labour because their native climate is warm, some line shall be drawn, beyond which oppression shall not be exerted, and some small alleviation supplied to miseries, which, though called on by Compassion, by Justice, and Religion, we have not the courage to end.

An application to Parliament will be attended with much trouble, and cannot effectually be prosecuted without much expence. Hitherto the Subscriptions for this humane purpose, have been confined to individuals of the respectable set of *Quakers*. But why should the cause of humanity be supported by any particular description of the human race?

But if *particular classes* of individuals may with so much propriety interest themselves on an occasion so praise-worthy, are there none but the *Quakers*, who may reasonably be expected to stand forth the advocates of the injured and oppressed? Whatever may be the peculiar opinions of the various denominations of *Christians*, surely there can be no difference in opinion in a case so obvious. Even warmth may be forgiven, if it mingle with the mildness of Christianity, on the recollection of circumstances of such enormous wickedness, when even our Lord himself speaks with extreme indignation of those who offend against the first Law of Benevolence, Charity, or Love. “Wo unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; ye pay tithe of mint, anise, and cummin, and neglect the *weightier matters of the Law, Judgment, and MERCY*. These things ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the Damnation of Hell!”

May I presume to mention to the Gentlemen of the *Establishment*, whose lives and conversations do so much honour to the professional character in this town and neighbourhood, and many of whom even now occur to my recollection, who are possessed of abilities and eloquence far beyond the common portion which their fellow-labourers in the vineyard at large enjoy—altho’ the post of honour, in this most honourable conflict with Tyranny and Cruelty, has been seized by sectaries, that it would not be inconsistent with their own private feelings, with their private character, with their public character, with their professional duty, to join with their Fellow-Christians in a point wherein no Christians *can* differ, and assist, to their utmost, endeavours so laudably exerted. The present Bishop of Chester has already set the example of preaching at a public charity, (for such *in fact* is the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel) a Charity Sermon, in favour of some alleviation to Negro Servitude: he  
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has enforced it, from the conduct and opinion of those whom *Englishmen* ought deeply to blush that they have not preceded, the *French* and the *Spanish*. What if the Clergy of Manchester were to recommend to their respective Congregations, in an express Discourse, to contribute their Mite toward the subscription for the Parliamentary application? Surely such liberality of sentiment and conduct would reflect honour upon the sacred character, and shew that diversity in matters of mere opinion, will never prevent their adopting uniformity in practical benevolence.

To the Society of *Quakers* in this town, I apprehend it will be unnecessary to say much, to incite them to promote what the sect have almost *universally* adopted, with a zeal, a perseverance, an attention, a liberality to which no praise can be equal.—The *Friends* in Manchester will certainly not remain singular in a matter so honourable to themselves and their profession. Among the *Presbyterians* in America, the Question relating to Universal Manumission was negatived by ONE only. Since then, other facts have come to light, other enormities have been observed, and the experiment of Manumission extensively tried, has, *even lucratively*, answered. Why should not the inhabitants of Manchester, the Teachers in particular of this persuasion, second the exertions of the respectable Minority abroad, and complete, as far as the present application can extend, what was left undone by their American brethren? I am not solicitous to distinguish, among the numerous and opulent Dissenters in Manchester, who rank under the denomination of *Presbyterians*, those of the Arian from those of the Calvinistic persuasion. For what has such a distinction to do in the present case? This is not the cause of Arianism or of Calvinism—it is the cause of Humanity, of Christianity.

But I apply particularly to the Methodists: to those who must have read, or have heard at least, of the very excellent Tract of that very excellent man the Rev. John Wesley. They are a disgrace to their Character, they are a disgrace to their Leader, if this Pamphlet has not made a forcible impression on their minds. “To turn the hearts of the Disobedient to the Wisdom of the Just,” has certainly been the earnest endeavour of the chief promoters of methodism, whatever may have been the characters of some of their followers, or whatever may have been the propriety or impropriety of the means used towards this great end. My friends, for this end you are again called upon: I call upon the Preachers among you to second the endeavours of their great Master. This is the cause of Benevolence and Religion: it is therefore the cause of Methodism. Do yourselves honour, and haste to come forth the foremost in this business. The omission will disgrace you.



Whatever may be the religious persuasion of the Reader, upon the principles of his own sect, he may fairly be addressed. He that is not with us, is against us. As Englishmen, the blood of the murdered African is upon us, and upon our children, and in some day of retribution he will feel it, who will not assist to wash off the stain.

But why these addresses to the inhabitants of Manchester in their religious characters only? There is not a man of common honesty, of any, or of no religion, who, on due consideration, can deny that this shocking traffic is downright rebellion against the plainest principles of common honesty. I appeal therefore to every man who assumes this character, not merely in behalf of the cause, but in behalf of his own consistency. And I hope the inhabitants of Manchester, who have purchased and enjoyed such public reputation for their spirited exertions against political oppression, will not want spirit in such a cause as this, merely because their peculiar interest is not concerned. I appeal to themselves what honour they have it now in their power to gain, by a marked, a public interference in a cause of such magnitude, and so reputable; and I hope an Appeal on such a Subject will not be made in vain.

## A P P E N D I X.

**I** Did not think it worth while to insert in the body of this section the arguments, or rather the excuses which slave-dealers and slave-holders alledge in reply to the charges adduced against them. A short statement, however, of these excuses, and the obvious replies, may not be improper in a pamphlet which is intended for general information. I shall therefore state what I have heard or perused in favour of the African trade either in conversation or in print; and this in the order of the preceding historical deduction of this traffic. As to the mode of procuring slaves on the coast. It is said,

I. Whatever may have been the case, the slaves are now purchased; and therefore it is the business of the seller, and not of the purchaser, to take care that they are properly procured originally.

Answer I. It is notorious that we ourselves kidnap the negroes on every opportunity. 2. It is notorious that the slave dealers, from whom we purchase them, are kidnappers. 3. We do still incite and encourage wars on the coast, for the purpose of making slaves plentiful. 4. Before any man purchases a slave, who alleges the injustice of the sale, it is the duty of the purchaser to take care that the labour of the person sold was properly forfeited, for there is, *primâ facie*, evidence against this.

II. The Persons sold, are sold by the authority of their prince, and are in general convicts. Ans. 1. No prince has a right to sell his subject; nor has an Englishman a right to encourage tyranny. 2. It is notorious that an extremely small portion are convicts. 3. Of those who are, the majority are unjustly condemned; and it is well known that capital crimes, which induce the slavery, not only of the person guilty, but of his whole family, are made very numerous by the African tyrants, that their revenue may be increased, by the sale of the persons condemned, 4. In the most civilized European states, the punishments are too disproportionate and severe: a fortiori, they are likely to be so in states so imperfectly civilized. Hence the obligation is very strong upon us, to take care that we are not, from carelessness or wilful negligence, the instruments of injustice and oppression.

III. There is no cruelty in purchasing the negroes as slaves, because they are universally so in their own country.

Answer 1. If they are so, so much the worse: It is our duty to extend political freedom, and not slavery. 2. They are not slaves to their prince in the same sense as they become so to the purchasers. 3. The Africans are all extremely fond of their own country, and abhor extremely their West-Indian servitude. - As to the mode of *treating* them on board ship, and their *plantation punishments*—it is said,

IV. Such severity is absolutely necessary, to prevent mutiny, and compel labour.

Answer 1. As far as the experiment has been tried, general mild treatment, with certain and severe, but not brutally-cruel punishments, have answered best. Facts to this purpose have been furnished by Mr. Ramsay and Captain Smith, and the French plantations are standing proofs of this. 2. Because one act of cruelty and injustice makes several others necessary—the first does not justify the subsequent ones. It is no justification of my murderer, that I refused to be robbed.

V. One may use a negro like a brute animal, for they are a different race of beings.

Answer 1. We treat no brute animals so ill. 2. If we did, the treatment is too cruel to admit of justification. 3. They are men; susceptible of the same cultivation with ourselves. A white and a black do not produce a mule, but a being capable of continuing the species; which is the very strongest proof of sameness of species. The whiteness of a white man decreases in hot climates, and the blackness of the black man in cold ones. As to their capacity, let the Poems of Phillis Wheatley, and the Letters of Ignatius Sancho be perused, and the question is decided. By the way; the mother of Ignatius Sancho was hurried on board a slave ship, pregnant: on board the ship Sancho was born: with difficulty he was kept alive: but his father receiving the common treatment of plantation negroes, thought fit to put an end to his own existence.

VI. It is denied that the treatment of the negroes is such as has been represented: it is moreover improbable that it should, for it is against the planters' interest.

Answer 1. The fact has been anonymously denied: I have proved it by such testimonies as Benezet, Wesley, Grenville Sharp, Ramsay, Capt. Hill, Clarkson, Dr. Gregory—to which may be added the concurrent belief of Raynal, Dean Tucker, Burke, &c. I forbear to quote the anonymous corroborators. No impartial man believes otherwise, than that the anonymous deniers of these notorious facts deny, for interested purposes,



purposes, what they know to be true. 2. Every body knows, that interest will very often be sacrificed to passion. 3. In the British plantations the case very generally is, that the person who inflicts the cruel punishments complained of, sacrifices not his own, but his master's interest, who is spending the profits of the plantation in Great Britain; and who cannot afford that the slaves shall not be worked to the utmost of their strength. 4. The fact is, that the interest of the British planters is prodigiously sacrificed by the treatment in question. The French slaves are all well treated; *but the planters themselves reside on their own plantations.*

VII. The planters have a right to the utmost labour of the slaves, for they have paid for it.

Answer 1. No bargain is fair, where there is not a *quid pro quo*; a mutual equivalent. But no equivalent can possibly be received by the slave. 2. No man has a right to purchase what he may know, if he please, that the seller has no right to sell.

VIII. The islands could not be cultivated without slaves; because white men cannot bear labour in so warm a climate, while blacks can; and because even if the negroes were manumitted, no free negro will work as a day labourer; which is evinced by the indolence of the Caribs in St. Vincents, and the Marons in Jamaica.

Answer 1. It is better that the islands remained uncultivated to eternity, than that their cultivation should be encouraged at the price of such enormous, such extensive villany. If these be justifiable means of becoming rich, with what face can we put to death the man who shoots another through the head for the purpose of securing the contents of the dead man's pocket? 2. It is in all cases impolitic to force colonization. 3. The whites can cultivate the islands much better than the blacks. For those are capable of the greatest exertion, who have been perpetually accustomed to exertion: the inhabitants of cold climates, i. e. the whites, are accustomed to perpetual exertion: the inhabitants of hot climates, i. e. the blacks, are from their infancy accustomed to perpetual indolence; for the necessaries of life in Africa are almost spontaneously produced; therefore, *à fortiori*, the whites are the properest persons for the labour. Agreeable to this is the fact, that a European constitution stands an American climate better than a native. The blacksmiths, carpenters, wheel-wrights, builders, &c. all the trades that require great exertion to perform with success, are performed by whites, in the West-India islands. A blacksmith, a smelter, a worker in a glass-house, &c. in this kingdom, work in a more sultry, and a more unwholesome climate than the negroes

in the West-Indies. A gentleman informed me very lately, that his brother, with the other officers of the regiment to which he belonged, in the West Indies, used the daily amusement of *Cricket*. The swampy climate of Georgia is at least equally hot, and certainly more unhealthy, than our West-India islands. "I and my family (says Mr. John Wesley) eight in number, employed all our spare time, while in Georgia, in felling trees and clearing of ground; as hard labour as any negro need be employed in. The German family, likewise, 40 in number, were employed in all manner of labour. And this was so far from impairing our health, that we all continued perfectly well, while the idle ones round about us were swept away, as with a pestilence." (Thoughts, &c. 20.) 4. If the blacks be manumitted, they must do something for their living: you need not feed them unless they will earn it, and then they will be compelled of themselves to work for you. The Marons and Charibs do not come for employ, because they have been brought up in a state of warfare with the civilized inhabitants; because they can subsist by hunting or plunder, not being very numerous; because they have been educated to this mode of life, and it is a known fact, that either white or black thus brought up from his infancy, will never voluntarily settle to regular labour: because they as well as the *free negroes* in the plantations, if they are to work, must work in the gang with the *slaves*, a disgrace which it is well known they will live any how rather than submit to; and because if they were to hire themselves to work in the plantations, they would earn less than they now can do by keeping shop, or as hucksters, &c. for within these few years, gangs might have been hired at 8d. or 10d. a day per head, and during the war, the price did not exceed 13d.  $\frac{1}{2}$  but none of these objections would lie to the gradual or even sudden manumission of the numerous negroes now holden in slavery: so that the instances do not, in any degree, countenance the inconveniences dreaded.

5. The Slave-trade, during the war, was almost annihilated; the consequence was, the slaves became more valuable; and were better treated in some degree; and we do not hear that any enormous inconvenience was the result. 6. But granting that the West-India Islands could not be cultivated without slaves, which is very far from being the case; yet the nation would become very considerably the gainers, by attending to the colonization of Africa, rather than the West-Indies, which will certainly at one time or other involve us in another *American* war. The use of a Colony, is to supply the Mother Country with those commodities which the latter is in want of and cannot

not produce, at a cheaper rate, and in greater perfection than the Mother Country can be supplied with from any other place : and secondly, to take off those commodities in exchange, which the Colony cannot produce, and which the Mother Country has to spare. For this purpose, the first consideration ought to be, to colonize in an *opposite* climate: the effect of colonizing in a *familiar climate* we have found, by the most imprudent and absurd encouragement which we afforded to the *North American* colonies. Wherever therefore the commodities required, can be raised in the greatest plenty and the greatest perfection, other circumstances being equal, that is the proper place for colonization; and of this, *opposition of climate* is the first evidence. Now, it is a notorious fact, that in the hot climate of Africa, every product of our West-India Islands may be produced in much greater abundance, and much higher perfection: Cotton, of various kinds, grows spontaneously: Indigo of the first quality is indigenous: the sugar-cane in Africa, is 3 or 4 times the size that we see it in the West-Indies; and they have beside, what the West-Indies have not, ivory, and unexplored gold mines. The probable quantity of produce in the colony, is the exponent of the probable quantity of home manufactures, which that colony will take off; for these last can only be paid for by the former. But in Africa, West-India products would be produced, not only in greater perfection, but in greater plenty within the same space. But when to this is added, the superior extent of space, and of sea coast too; there is the utmost probability that the colonization of Africa would answer to this country far better than that of the West-Indies, and the consumption of our manufactures, and of our revenue, would be very considerably increased. Not that in the present state of things, such a colonization not begun, is to be attempted, while an old one remains; but I argue upon the improbable supposition that our West-Indian colonies would be materially injured by the manumission of slaves, and the abolition of the Slave-trade. But that such injury would arise, no one can reasonably expect, who considers, that in the State of Delaware, in America, slavery is abolished; that the Quakers have found their interest in their honesty; and that in consequence of past experience, the State of Virginia has lately prohibited the importation or purchase of a slave, under a penalty of 1000l.

IX. But the Slave-trade is a lucrative traffic to this country, and ought therefore to be encouraged.

Answer 1. Honesty is the best policy: no lucre is cheap that is purchased at the expence of that, which all mankind agree ought never to be expended.

The



The average amount of the exports to Africa, is not above 500,000l. Of what moment, pray, can the profit upon this capital be, when compared with the price paid? 2. But it is a great doubt whether it be lucrative to the nation at all. For the riches of the nation is composed of the riches of individuals: the capital of the nation is the aggregate of the capitals of individuals: the gain to the nation upon any particular branch of commerce, is the average gain upon the aggregate of the capitals of the individuals employed in that branch of commerce. But I have heard it repeatedly asserted; that for some years past the African Slave-trade has been carried on to the considerable loss of many individuals employed in it, and that even at present, success depends not upon the regular events of the trade, but upon such care and conduct in the captains employed, as does not redound to the credit either of them or their employers. 3. It is notorious that the French and Spaniards, who deal largely in slaves, consider the trade as a looting one; for a great part of the Slave-trade of this country, *is for the supply of the French and Spanish colonies.* At the time of Mr. Ramsay's writing, some English slave-dealers were treating with the court of Spain, for the regular supply of the Spanish colonies with 80,000 annual slaves. Can that trade be lucrative to this country which supplies to the French and Spaniards, the means of cultivating a branch of commerce, wherein they are our rivals?

X. The Slave-trade is a nursery for seamen.

Answer. it is the grave of the best seamen in the British service.

It is well known, that the sailors dislike the trade: that they are frequently kidnapped to enter into it; that they are ill treated in it; and that very many die in it; far beyond the common proportion. 2. It is well known too, that as more hands are necessary to collect slaves than to navigate the vessel; hence they are ill treated in the mid-voyage, for the owners gain, by their death, their keep and their pay.

Such are the Arguments that have occurred to me on each side the Question.

Reader: lay your hand upon your breast, and ask yourself seriously and solemnly (for it is a solemn business) the Question, "Is this Traffic, upon the whole, honest or dishonest? If the latter; is it not your duty to set your face against it, with an earnestness proportionate to the extent and enormity of the evil? Act in this case as your conscience shall direct; the Appeal has been made to you, and at one day or other you will answer for your own conduct herein.

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See also to the same purpose Doddsley's Annual Register, v. 15, for the Year 1772, among the Poetry.

Ibid v. 18. p. 173 et seq.

Ibid v. 12, p. 168—209.

Many passages also on this subject are to be found in Cowper's Poems; in the Letters of Ignatius Sancho, &c.